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ABSTRACT

Some researchers have argued that out-of-school curricula, implicit patterns of learning in such realms as families, homes, peer groups, mass media, and nonschool organizations, are instrumental in forging the outlooks of individuals. This paper presents a way in which educators can learn about the out-of-school curricula of their students. The term "student lore" is used to refer to the out-of-school curricula and what students can tell teachers about what they need from teachers and their teaching and what they can tell about curricula and how school interacts with their total life experiences. Books about the lives of students are the data sources for this report. Reviewed are: (1) "Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear" by Robert Coles; (2) "Always Running, La Vida Loca: Gang Days in L.A." by Luis J. Rodriguez; (3) "Black Fire: The Making of an American Revolutionary" by Nelson Peery; and (4) "There Are No Children Here" by Alex Kotlowitz. These books all deal with the experiences of youth from minority cultures in the United States. Although experienced teachers learn to know their students in any case, studying literature about students and their lives can help educators learn student lore and set student experiences in a curricular backdrop. This approach should help teachers who want to learn more about their students, but are not sure how to go about it. (Contains 12 references.) (SLD)

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The Lore of Out-of-School Curricula: Implicit Principles, Tacit Commonplaces

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Objective

The purpose of this paper is to reveal a means whereby educators can acquire knowledge about the out-of-school curricula of students. Schubert (1986) and Schubert & Lopez (1994) argue that out-of-school curricula (implicit patterns of learning in such realms as families, homes, peer groups, mass media, nonschool organizations, etc.) are instrumental in forging the outlooks of individuals. Thus, if educators are to present a curriculum that is meaningful to students, the out-of-school curricula must be taken into account.

Every aspect of out-of-school curriculum contributes to a person's world view (Schubert & Lopez, 1994). When these persons begin their school careers they are better served if curriculum developers have some idea of their views. Such knowledge better prepares educators to advocate for what learners ought to have. Since curriculum purports to be knowledge and experiences that are most worthwhile, the question of "oughts for whom" comes to the fore. When curriculum developers have limited knowledge of the significance of the out-of-school lives of students about the way they conceptualize, understand, and interact with the world, they are at a distinct disadvantage. On the other hand, they are advantaged when they are aware of such sources of influence (Schubert & Lopez).

Those who develop and design curriculum are in a more strategic position to address and uncover skills, knowledge, and student values when aware of the out-of-school curriculum (Schubert & Lopez, 1994). In recognizing and acknowledging students' world views teachers can more ably support them as students aspire to become more fully human, and as they contribute to society and the world. More importantly, by studying out-of-school curricula valuable ways to teaching and learning may be discovered (Schubert & Lopez).

The study of out-of-school curricula will be referred to as "student lore," one use Schubert (1993) has recommended for that topic. Further, "student lore" will allude to how children can enlighten us about what they need teaching and teachers to do. Also, "student lore" will include what children can teach us about curriculum and the purposes of schooling, and about how school intertwines with their total life experiences (Ayers & Schubert, 1994).

Perspectives

If we accept the argument that we cannot educate those whom we do not know, and if we hold the position that student lore is central in shaping learners' outlooks on life (Schubert, 1986, Schubert & Lopez, 1994), we can then place student lore in a more conventional, analytic perspective for purposes of studying the phenomenon. Ralph Tyler (1949) offers a rationale for observing, studying, and interpreting curriculum. Tyler presents an explanation to the procedures that should be followed to answer the questions of purposes, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation about a given curriculum. Applying these same principles to student lore would result in developing categories of understanding non-school curricula; therefore it could be knowledge germane to meaningful in-school curriculum.

Tyler's Model

Tyler (1949) takes an empirical-analytic approach to curriculum design (Schubert, 1986). First, educational purposes are formed by studying learners themselves, contemporary life in society, and expert analysis of subject matter. These three routes to developing aims are then filtered through the school's philosophy in conjunction with information available about the psychology of learning. Purposes formed in this manner should be stated as succinctly and clearly

as possible. Ultimately, evaluation can be done to determine if the goals have been reached (Posner, 1988).

The second step in Tyler's (1949) Rationale calls for curriculum developers to ascertain what educational experiences can be "had by the learner" (p. 63). Educational experiences must be consistent with purposes. Possible experiences are analyzed not only for consistency with purposes but also for thrift (Posner, 1988).

The third task of the curriculum developer, according to Tyler (1949), is to organize educational experiences effectively (Posner, 1988). Learning experiences must be organized to produce a coherent program (Tyler). Since changes in behavior do not occur overnight, Tyler contends that experiences should have a cumulative effect. Thus, learners will understand the relationship among their learning activities in different fields. By doing so, attention is paid to the sequence of activities within each field (for example, mathematics) and to integration of knowledge across fields. There are certain concepts, skills, and values that are difficult enough to necessitate repeated study in increasing levels of sophistication and application. These concepts, skills, and values are also pervasive enough to aid students in relating one field to another. These are the organizing elements that provide the sequence and integration the curriculum demands (Posner).

The fourth and final step in this conceptualization of curriculum is evaluation. Evaluation is the bridge that connects the learning experiences as developed and organized with the desired results (Tyler, 1949). Tests, student work, questionnaires, records, and other evaluation instruments are developed to measure the curriculum's effectiveness. Success is based on

behavioral evidence that indicates that the purposes of the curriculum have been realized (Posner, 1988).

Schwab's Model

Student lore can also be placed within Schwab's (1978 [original publication 1973]) bodies of experience to illuminate the magnitude of learning that occurs as a result of collaboration among curriculum makers. For Schwab, curriculum making is a practical engagement in deliberation (Barone, 1988). The lore of subject matter, learner, milieu, and teacher, as well as their interaction would be helpful in enhancing the in-school experience.

Schwab (1978) contends that representatives from each of the four commonplaces (subject matter, learner, milieu, and teacher) be present in curriculum deliberation. In the case of subject matter, if the material under consideration is history, then someone in the curriculum design group should be familiar with that body of historical material. Also, that person must know what it means to be an historian.

In Schwab's (1978) model, the learner's representative would be a psychologist rather than a student (Posner, 1988). Representative of the milieu should be someone who has experience in the environments where the student's learning will occur. Teacher representatives would include those who are familiar, primarily, with what teachers are likely to know. Also, knowledge about how flexible and willing teachers are likely to be to learn new materials and new approaches to teaching would be helpful (Schwab).

If one desires to decide and act with more understanding in any curriculum situation, one should acquire insight by interacting with that situation (Schubert, 1986). According to Schwab (1978), that situation consists of subject matter, learners, milieu, and teachers. More importantly,

however, one must realize that the commonplaces themselves interact and continuously influence each other (Schubert).

Method

The methodology employed for this project was to review several literary accounts of students' lives (non-fiction, biographical, and autobiographical) and interpret their lived experiences as informal curricula. In my interpretation I gleaned implicit and tacit curricular implications. Rarely do we conceive of out-of-school experiences as being curricular (Schubert, 1986); however, few would attest that learning ceases beyond the schoolhouse walls. I analyze the lore that students encounter from a vantage point of implicit purposes, learning experiences, organization, and evaluation (Tyler, 1949) embedded in those experiences. I also offer further analysis of student lore from its tacit interactions of subject matter, learner, milieu, and teacher (Schwab, 1978). By taking this approach, teachers could learn more about their students as individuals without being intrusive (Schubert, 1986).

Thomas E. Barone (1988) contends that, at times, curriculum design should not focus so heavily on what curriculum developers do (i.e., Tylerian and Schwabian approaches) but what the developers bring to the process. Barone argues:

> . . . it is the difficulty in reconciling the traditional insistence on highly systematic forms of data-gathering with the clarity and forcefulness of the informally acquired observations of great writers that draws us to this radical rethinking of certain assumptions of social research methodology (p. 145).

Barone (1988) makes a strong argument for using fiction when employing this methodology as opposed to biographical and autobiographical works. Educational biographers and autobiographers, according to Barone, are less concerned with the dramatic molding that is the heart and soul of novel writing. Literarily restating actual life experiences and events fails to elevate raw biographical data "into the realm of the virtual" (p. 158).

I contend, however, that choice of literary mode is context dependent. Barone's (1988) analyses were based on stories primarily about school. Stories such as *Another Country* by Julian Mitchell (the tale of a youth in an upper-class, all male public school with homosexual tendencies) and John Updike's short story "A Sense of Shelter" (about a student who so thoroughly masters the academic environment that he does not want to leave school) are the basis for Barone's stance.

I, conversely, am studying life outside of school. What do students bring to school with them based on their outside experiences? In that context it would seem that real life stories are central to learning about those experiences and how educators can better connect schooling to student lore.

Data Sources

Books chronicling the lives of students will serve as data sources for this report. The education of minority "at-risk" youth is particularly under fire in contemporary society. Therefore, I will review Robert Coles's (1967) *Children of Crisis A Study of Courage and Fear*, Luis J. Rodriguez's (1993) *Always Running La Vida Loca: Gang Days in L.A.*, Nelson Peery's

(1994) *Black Fire The Making of an American Revolutionary*, and Alex Kotlowitz's (1992) *There Are No Children Here*.

Coles's (1967) work is a comprehensive study of the civil rights movement in the deep south in the early 1960s. Rodriguez (1993) recounts his life as a Latino growing up in Southern California. Peery (1994) chronicles his life as an African-American growing up in 1930s Minneapolis through his service in World War II. Peery's purpose is to divulge how his experiences contributed to his political orientation. My focus, however, will be on life for a Black youngster in Minneapolis prior to World War II. Kotlowitz (1992) follows the lives of two young brothers growing up in a Chicago Housing Project in the late 1980s.

Children of Crisis A Study of Courage and Fear

During school desegregation in New Orleans in 1961 three Black children were selected to attend an all White grammar school (Coles, 1967). At that time Whites were appalled at the idea of Blacks and Whites attending the same school. Six-year-old Tessie was the first African-American to set foot in McDonogh 19 school in November 1961. Each day Tessie was escorted to school by her father, mother, or grandmother, along with federal marshals. Her trips to school involved confronting angry mobs shouting racial epithets, curses, spit, and clenched fists demeaning young Tessie and her parental escort mercilessly.

Through it all, Tessie, and her grandmother in particular, prayed for the strength to make it through their ordeal. Tessie's grandmother indicated that she and Tessie being cursed everyday only meant they were closer to their freedom. The grandmother stated, "I'd sooner die than show them one ounce of fear," (Coles, 1967, p. 88). Tessie agreed.

Always Running La Vida Loca: Gang Days in L.A.

Rodriguez (1993), his parents, and his brothers and sisters came to America from Mexico when Luis was a young toddler. One incident accounts how Luis, his brothers and sisters, and his mother were run out of a city park by an American woman. The American woman had her three children with her and as the Rodriguez's left the woman yelled, "this is not your country" (p. 20).

Luis was terrified of his older brother, Rano. They would play Tarzan in their swamp-like backyard, but Luis was always the "monkey" being thrown from the tree. Rano relished seeing Luis moan in pain. Once, Rano pushed Luis off of a roof, and another time, while playing cowboys and Indians, Rano tossed a rope around Luis' neck and nearly choked him to death. When Rano came around looking for a playmate, Luis would often hide. Their mother had to force Luis out of a closets with a belt in her hand and made young Luis play with his older brother.

Yet, in the streets, neighborhood children would chase Rano, start fights with him, and send him home beaten and scarred. One time one of the neighborhood children hit Rano with a rock, gashing his forehead and leaving him with a scar he has to this day. Another time a youngster smashed a bucket over Rano's head resulting in a horrible, bloody scene. In the meantime, in school, Rano was placed in classes with retarded children because he did not speak English well. He was even held back in the second grade.

Black Fire The Making of an American Revolutionary

When Nelson Peery (1994) was fifteen years old, feeling he could not live any longer completely dependent and having no pocket money or decent clothes, he felt it was time to find a job. After applying in restaurants, drugstores, and other businesses, he finally landed a job shining

shoes in a White barber shop (opportunities were not plentiful for a fifteen year old Black youth in 1939 Minneapolis). Terms of employment were no wages, the proprietor received the dime, and Nelson kept his tips. Initially, Nelson wanted to decline the position but an older Black man who worked there, Joe, nodded so Peery accepted the job.

This was a second job for Joe. His wife was in a sanatorium and he had two children for which to provide. Nelson averaged approximately three dollars per week. Peery and Joe both hated the job. One day Nelson accidently smeared maroon shoe polish on a White patron's white silk sock. The patron held up his foot, examined the smear, and muttered a racial slur about Peery to himself.

Joe pulled the man from his chair, smashed his face, and left him lying on the floor unconscious. While Joe and Nelson were walking home Joe said to Nelson:

> You got to draw a line. . . I know I got to take low sometime--an' I do. But I draw a line. They got to know that it's a man takin' low, not a dog. Natural for a dog to take low. It ain't natural for a man. You got to draw a line. Part of that line is don't low-talk my race. . . I knock him out. I got to, 'cause if I don't, I'm a dog takin' low 'cause it natural with dogs. I'm a man who's forced to take low now and then--but I ain't no dog (p. 48).

Peery told Joe that he understood and agreed with him. Nelson made Joe take the money he had made that day and they went their separate ways.

There Are No Children Here

Kotlowitz's (1992) story focuses on the lives of brothers Lafeyette and Pharoah Rivers growing up in the Henry Horner Housing Project in Chicago. Horner is plagued by poverty,

violence, and drugs. One particular episode describes how a friend of theirs, Bird Leg, loved dogs. Bird Leg and Lafeyette would often search for German shepherds, mutts, and pit bulls in enclosed back yards in Hispanic and White neighborhoods just north of Horner. Usually the dogs would growl and fight with Lafeyette and other strangers. However, Bird Leg could communicate with the canines in ways that simply fascinated the other children. He would climb into the back yards, talk to the animals, and lure them to his side. He would then unchain them and take them home. His mother thought that Bird Leg sought protection from the gangs in the same manner he sought love from his dogs.

By age fourteen Bird Leg had become more reckless. For all intents and purposes, he had dropped out of school. After being shot while shooting dice, his mother moved the family to the other side of town. But as is usually the case when families move, Bird Leg and his brothers often visited their friends. One day while visiting Horner gang members began to taunt Bird Leg. As Bird Leg responded a twenty-four-year-old stepped from between two parked cars and shot and killed him.

Point of View

There are many ways to interpret the above depictions. In the case of Tessie, the angry mobs could be the teachers in an effort to impart the role of Blacks in the deep south in 1961. Conversely, Tessie's grandmother could be the teacher imparting the fortitude necessary to make it through difficult times. The point is, the interpretations offered are strictly my own. I am attempting to glean curricular implications from student lore.

Children of Crisis A Study of Courage and Fear

I will take the approach of Tessie's grandmother being the teacher imparting the fortitude necessary to make it through difficult times. Looking at the experience as curriculum, from a Tylerian point of view, the purpose is to create the inner strength necessary to cope with difficult situations. Few know young Tessie better than her own grandmother, and contemporary life in 1961 New Orleans is changing. Deeply held racial views are being challenged thus, contributing to a tumultuous condition.

The learning experiences include prayer and requiring young Tessie to endure such an ordeal. In line with the purpose of developing inner strength, Tessie's grandmother feels that resorting to prayer will assist in forming that inner courage. Also, it would be ever so simple to just not allow Tessie to be part of such a venture. However, the grandmother must think that pulling her out of the situation would be detrimental to the goal of possessing an inner fortitude.

Organization is structured in a way that provides a firm religious foundation accompanied with the love and support of the family. If the primary experience had by Tessie is to pray, that outlook needs reinforcement. A life style consistent with faith in prayer is absolutely essential.

Evaluation results in Tessie surviving the ordeal and maturing into a productive member of society. Obviously, this is a long term measuring stick because Tessie has to grow into an adult and live a life consistent with the grandmother's aims. However, formative evaluation can take place based on the associations and activities Tessie engages in throughout childhood and adolescence.

Alternatively, the commonplaces can also be identified. If courage is the subject matter; we can certainly identify the grandmother as someone who knows what it is to be courageous.

Though Tessie and her grandmother are the primary actors in this "curriculum situation," the commonplaces are inextricably intertwined. Tessie is the learner; the hostile racial climate is the milieu, where once again the grandmother is an expert in the environment where learning will occur; and, the grandmother is the teacher.

Always Running La Vida Loca: Gang Days in L.A.

Luis's brother, Rano, is the teacher whose purpose, similar to Tessie's grandmother previously, is to instill a coping mechanism. From being run out of a city park by an adult to being harassed in his own neighborhood, Rano wants to prepare his younger brother for what is to come. No doubt Rano thinks he knows his brother rather intimately, he is aware that life in East Los Angeles is certainly difficult for immigrant Latinos, and Rano feels qualified to transmit the values he thinks are necessary.

Learning experiences to be had by Luis are quite physical. Being thrown out of a tree, tossed off of a roof, and nearly strangled to death, though undesirable, are consistent with Rano's purposes. It is apparent that Rano wants Luis to be able to handle himself amongst the neighborhood children. Also, in light of the incident in the park and Rano's experience in school, Rano desires Luis to be able to cope with those types of situations.

Learning experiences must be organized so as to have a cumulative effect. Going from being thrown out of a tree, to thrown off a roof, to having a rope tossed around one's neck could be viewed as cumulation. Rano is saying in order to fare favorably in the neighborhood, and in school, one must be conditioned to endure some degree of pain.

Evaluation is long term. Rano is unable to determine if his efforts are successful presently. Not until Luis is, at least, Rano's current age and able to have successful experiences in the community and school will Rano realize the attainment of his objectives.

From Schwab's (1978) perspective, identification of the commonplaces is important. If we call social interaction skills the subject matter it would appear that Luis is being ill served on this front. Few would agree that Rano knows what it means to be an ambassador. Nevertheless, Luis is the learner, the neighborhood and school are the milieus, and Rano is the teacher.

Black Fire The Making of an American Revolutionary

In the situation with Nelson Peery (1994), Joe takes the role of teacher. His purpose is to have Nelson develop a sense of racial pride. Though he has known Peery for a relatively short period of time, he understands how Nelson must have felt having made the mistake with the shoe polish and then having to endure the racial epithet. Joe is aware of the racial climate during this time and feels qualified to impart his message about racial identity.

The learning experiences had by Peery are the stand taken in the barber shop and the lecture on the way home. These experiences are consistent with the purpose because they are actions taken in direct response to the action meant to demean racial pride. Not only are these experiences consistent with purpose, but they are also efficient (Posner, 1988).

Tyler (1949) states that learning experiences must be organized to produce a coherent program, and these experiences must be cumulative. Organization in this case first shows an act being done and then an explanation. Not only did Joe take a stand with the physical confrontation, he also told Peery why he did it. Joe told Nelson that being Black during that time

did require accepting certain acts of racism. However, a line must be drawn. It is natural, in many cases, for a dog to accept certain behavior, but not a man.

Evaluation connects learning experiences with purposes (Tyler, 1949). Joe's aim is that Nelson develop a sense of racial pride. The only way for Joe to measure if he was successful is to observe Peery's behavior over time. During that time nearly all African-Americans lived in or near the same Minneapolis neighborhood. Through observation, Joe will be able to determine if Nelson exhibits the desired behavior.

With respect to the commonplaces, racial pride is the subject matter. Joe is certainly an expert because he knows what it means to be racially proud. His actions evidence that. Subsequently, Peery is the learner, Minneapolis' racial climate is the milieu, and Joe is the teacher.

There Are No Children Here

Gang life is a precarious state, metaphorically speaking. In the case of Bird Leg (Kotlowitz, 1992), his environment is a strong teacher. He is a person gifted with a rapport with animals, but, ironically, was lured into the viscous streets himself. The gang members are the teachers whose purpose is to intimidate and have an enviable income without paying the price. Gang members certainly think they know each other better than anyone else does (and they probably do), and life in their world is filled with guns, drugs, and violence. Theoretically, the drug trade yields enormous economic profits, a field in which they are the experts.

Learning experiences are the shootings, muggings, and physical attacks. The person who killed Bird Leg was undoubtedly held in high esteem within his inner circle. In gunning Bird Leg down, the perpetrator was able to spread fear and intimidation.

Learning experiences are organized in a manner where there is no particular sequence, but more of a situation where when one reaches a particular age affiliation must be declared. With affiliation comes protection, which means that in a barbaric sort of way, Bird Leg's death could have been prevented. Attention could be paid to the types of felonious acts one commits until he actually commits murder. Therefore, the types of crimes committed between one's first crime and murder could be significant from a sequential aspect.

Evaluation is a result of the malicious acts one commits. If purposes are to intimidate and yield substantial illegal profits, then certain behavior is embedded in that philosophy. In the end, if there is an end, evaluation can be based on the individual who is feared the most, has the most money, and the route that person used to get there.

With respect to the commonplaces, each sphere of gang life could be the subject matter. These people know what it means to be gangsters. The unaffiliated is the learner; the economically deprived, violent community is the milieu; and, of course, the gang leaders are the teachers.

Educational Importance

The importance of this report lies in the fact that it offers a means for educators to learn about student lore and set those experiences in a curricular backdrop. Educators are only in a defensible position to present a meaningful curriculum for learners in institutions where they have knowledge of the nonschool educative forces in student lives (Schubert & Lopez, 1994). These forces represent curricula that come from parents, extended families, television, personal

relationships, hobbies, books and magazines, movies and video tapes, and a variety of other sources (Schubert & Lopez).

In 1985 Fantini & Sinclair (Schubert & Lopez, 1994) identified families, workplaces, museums, religious institutions, youth serving agencies, media, and technology as "educators." They referred to specialists in each of those areas of life to explicate how they are educative. Schubert (1986) argues that these areas are encompassed in elements of curriculum, as I have shown.

Exemplary teachers get to know their students anyway. Hopefully, this approach will be helpful to those who seek to learn more about their students but are not quite sure how to do so. It is designed to illustrate the out-of-school curriculum in student lives and the educational impact it provides. Thus, it is a contribution to understanding the substantive character of out-of-school curriculum and, methodologically, ways to portray it.

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